

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
PCH-26 SIG-03 MMO-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 EB-08 TRSE-00 SAB-02 ACDA-12 HA-05 NRC-05
OMB-01 /184 R

DRAFTED BY IO/ML:MJACOBS:LW
APPROVED BY IO/ML:PWKRIEBEL
ARA/RPP:CFINAN
ARA/CCA:WSMITH
AF/I:LGSHURTLEFF
EA/RA:LMCNUTT
EUR:WSALISBURY
NEA:JMONTVILLE
IO/UNP:JLORENZ

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R 060124Z JUN 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS
AMEMBASSY BANGUI VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY BANJUL VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY BISSAU VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY GABORONE VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY KIGALI VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY LOME VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY MASERU VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU VIA POUCH
USLO PEKING VIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE VIA POUCH

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: MAY 15-20 MEETING OF THE
NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU (NACB) AT HAVANA

REF: USINT HAVANA 1430 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THE FOLLOWING IS THE

DEPARTMENT'S INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF THE NACB MEETING AT HAVANA. IT IS INTENDED ESSENTIALLY FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE ADDRESSEES BUT MAY BE DRAWN UPON FREELY BY THEM IN THEIR NORMAL CONTACTS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. REPORTING ON SUCH CONVERSATIONS WOULD BE WELCOMED BY THE DEPARTMENT, ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATES TO THE BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN JULY, WHERE MANY OF THE SAME ISSUES WILL BE RE-OPENED.

2. THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING, FROM THE US STANDPOINT, WERE MIXED AND ABOUT AS EXPECTED. THERE WAS LITTLE OR NO CRITICISM OF CUBA'S INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. THE BUREAU TOUGHENED NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE ON KOREA. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH PROVED TO BE THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUE AT HAVANA, SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVE WAS INDIRECTLY CONDEMNED AS A US PLOT TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION OVER THE HEADS OF THE

PALESTINIANS. HOWEVER, THE BUREAU BROKE NO NEW GROUND ON PUERTO RICO AND CHARACTERIZED THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES AS A POSITIVE STEP. THE AFRICANS CONTINUED TO PROTECT WESTERN INITIATIVES ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. CUBA GAINED THE TACTICAL HIGH GROUND AT THE MEETING BUT HAD TO SHARE THE FIELD WITH THE MODERATES, WHO WERE FAIRLY ACTIVE. ON CONFIDENTIAL

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BALANCE, THEN, THE LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT REMAIN OPEN QUESTIONS AFTER THE HAVANA MEETING.

3. GENERAL. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY 43 NON-ALIGNED STATES. SOME 7 FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE PRESENT, CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN THE 17 IN ATTENDANCE AT NEW DELHI LAST YEAR. A FEW MEMBERS MAY HAVE STAYED AWAY BECAUSE OF THE VENUE BUT MORE MUNDANE FACTORS ALSO MAY HAVE HELPED TO KEEP DOWN THE NUMBER. THE EVIDENCE IS INCONCLUSIVE AS TO WHETHER THERE WAS A BOYCOTT.

4. ECONOMIC ISSUES. WE HAVE NOT SEEN THIS PORTION OF THE HAVANA FINAL COMMUNIQUE BUT THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LITTLE OR NO CONTROVERSY ON NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES, AND NO SURPRISES.

5. POLITICAL ISSUES. THERE WAS INTENSE AND SOMETIMES BITTER DEBATE ON SOME OF THE POLITICAL ISSUES. KEY ISSUES FOR THE US INCLUDED:

A. CUBA IN AFRICA. INDICATIONS ARE THAT LITTLE OR NO ATTENTION WAS DEVOTED TO THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. NO MENTION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MADE, AT LEAST IN THE COMMUNIQUE, OF THE RECENT SOMALI LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE NAM, WHICH QUESTIONED CUBA'S NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS. NOR WAS THERE ANY MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ERITREA, DESPITE

THE COINCIDENTAL START OF THE LONG-AWAITED ETHIOPIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ERITREAN REBELS. ONE REPORT FROM USINT HAVANA INDICATES THAT THE ZAIRIAN REPRESENTATIVE CALLED ON CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALMIERCA TO ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE APPARENT CUBAN ROLE IN THE LATEST SHABA INCURSION. MALMIERCA REPORTEDLY ASSURED HIM THAT CUBA WAS NOT INVOLVED. THE ZAIRIANS DID NOT PURSUE THE MATTER IN THE MEETING. THERE WAS NO SIGN OF A REVOLT OF MODERATE MEMBERS CONCERNED ABOUT THE PATTERN
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OF CUBAN-SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. ON THE CONTRARY, THE YUGOSLAVS AND OTHER MODERATES CONSCIOUSLY AVOIDED RAISING THESE QUESTIONS SO AS NOT TO DISRUPT THE MEETING. IN THE CONFUSION OF ONE OF THE CLOSING SESSIONS, THE PARTICIPANTS EVEN APPROVED A PUBLIC STATEMENT, PROPOSED BY THE PLO, ENDORSING CUBA'S SUPPORT FOR "THE CAUSE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND LIBERTY" AND ITS CONTRIBUTION

TO "THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY."

B. PUERTO RICO. THE COMMUNIQUE REAFFIRMED THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE," AND CALLED FOR THE "RAPID ADOPTION OF MEASURES TO REACH THIS END." THIS IS SIMILAR TO THE TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED FORMULATION ON PUERTO RICO AND TO THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE INTRODUCED BY THE CUBANS. IT WAS ADOPTED AFTER MORE EXTREME LANGUAGE, ALSO INTRODUCED BY THE CUBANS AT THE URGING OF PUERTO RICAN COMMUNIST OBSERVERS, HAD BEEN REJECTED. EVEN SO, RESERVATIONS WERE LODGED BY BOTSWANA, INDONESIA, ZAIRE AND LIBERIA.

C. PANAMA CANAL. THE COMMUNIQUE CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT TREATIES AS A "STEP TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF THE COLONIAL CONDITIONS EXISTING" IN THE CANAL ZONE AND THE "FULL DECOLONIZATION" OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. THIS COMPARATIVELY FAVORABLE FORMULATION PROBABLY INDICATES THAT THE TREATIES HAVE DIFFUSED THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION, INsofar AS THE NAM IS CONCERNED, AND THAT THE ISSUE MAY NOW RECEDE ON THE THIRD WORLD AGENDA.

D. KOREA. THE COMMUNIQUE ECHOED THE NORTH KOREAN LINE
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AND REPRESENTS A TOUGHENING OF PREVIOUS NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE ON KOREA. IT CALLS, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR THE "CESSATION OF THE NEW WAR PROVOCATION MANEUVERS IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE SCHEMES TO CREATE "TWO KOREAS,"

AND FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA, INTER ALIA, "BY UNCONDITIONALLY WITHDRAWING ALL FOREIGN TROOPS STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA." RESERVATIONS WERE LODGED BY INDIA, INDONESIA, SRI LANKA, PERU, ZAIRE, LIBERIA, CHAD AND NIGER.

E. CYPRUS. IN DEPLORING THE "CONTINUED" OCCUPATION OF "PART OF THE TERRITORY" OF CYPRUS BY FOREIGN TROOPS AND CALLING FOR THE "IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES" AND THE "RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES," THE COMMUNIQUE REAFFIRMED TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION IN THE COMMUNAL CONFLICT. IRAQ LODGED THE ONLY RESERVATION.

F. SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE COMMUNIQUE DENOUNCED THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN RHODESIA AS A MANEUVER TO CIRCUMVENT GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE; STATED THAT THERE CAN BE NO LASTING SOLUTION IN RHODESIA

WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE "FIGHTING LIBERATION FORCES"; AND CALLED FOR "INCREASED AND SUSTAINED" MATERIAL AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND THEIR "ONLY LEGITIMATE" NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, SWAPO. THERE WAS ONLY INDIRECT AND NEUTRAL MENTION OF WESTERN INITIATIVES WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IT APPEARS THAT THE AFRICANS POINTEDLY AVOIDED WEAKENING THE WESTERN INITIATIVES BY GLIDING OVER THE ISSUE IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

G. MIDDLE EAST. BITTER DEBATES BETWEEN THE EGYPTIANS AND SYRIANS ENDED IN THE IMPLICIT REJECTION OF THE SADAT CONFIDENTIAL

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PEACE INITIATIVE AS AN ALLEGED US PLOT TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION OVER THE HEADS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND IN THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE "STEADFAST" ARAB OBJECTIVE OF A "GLOBAL" SOLUTION, BASED ON ISRAEL'S COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PLO-RULED PALESTINIAN NATION STATE. THE NACB ALSO REAFFIRMED THAT "ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM."

H. DISARMAMENT. FALLING ON THE EVE OF THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, THE NACB MEETING PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW NON-ALIGNED STRATEGY ON DISARMAMENT. AS EXPECTED, LITTLE NEW GROUND WAS BROKEN. SEVERAL PATENTLY SOVIET-INSPIRED FORMULATIONS CONTAINED IN THE ORIGINAL CUBAN DRAFT WERE DROPPED OUT OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. THESE INCLUDED ENDORSEMENT OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (MENTIONED IN THE NEW DELHI COMMUNIQUE LAST YEAR), NON-USE OF FORCE AND DENUNCIATION OF THE NEUTRON BOMB.

6. COMMENT. THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE IS GENERALLY HARD-LINE BUT MAKES LITTLE CHANGE IN BASIC NAM POSITIONS. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES ARE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE THE EGYPTIANS LOST AN IMPORTANT TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE "STEADFAST" ARABS, AND ON THE PANAMA CANAL, WHICH MAY NOW BECOME LESS OF A DIPLOMATIC PROBLEM FOR US. THE MEETING WAS AN OVERALL SUCCESS FOR THE CUBANS AND STRENGTHENS THEIR POSITION AGAINST POTENTIAL CHALLENGES TO THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT IN THE LATTER PART OF 1979. HOWEVER, THE CUBANS DID NOT IMPOSE PRO-SOVIET POSITIONS ON THE NAM. THE MODERATES WERE SUFFICIENTLY AROUSED TO HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE CUBANS WILL HAVE TO SHARE THE FIELD WITH THEM. MOREOVER, FORMAL RESERVATIONS WERE LODGED ON MOST OF THE MAJOR POSITIONS ADOPTED - A POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT WHICH COULD STRENGTHEN THE FORCES OF DIVERSITY
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AND MODERATION IN THE NAM. THUS, CUBA'S LEADERSHIP OF THE NAM REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION. THE HAVANA MEETING RESOLVED

NONE OF THE INTERNAL DISPUTES TROUBLING THE NAM. THESE DISPUTES, INCLUDING MODERATE CONCERN ABOUT CUBA'S INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, WILL NOW BE TRANSFERRED TO THE NAM FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING BEING HELD AT BELGRADE IN JULY.

7. FOR NON-NAM POSTS: THE NAM HAS A THREE-YEAR CYCLE OF MEETINGS TO REVIEW AND COORDINATE NON-ALIGNED AFFAIRS, CULMINATING IN A SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. THE NEXT SUMMIT IS TO BE HELD IN HAVANA. THERE HAS BEEN A MODERATING TREND IN THE NAM WHICH FIRST BECAME NOTICEABLE AT THE COLOMBO SUMMIT IN 1976. THE US HAS BEEN INTERESTED IN WHETHER THIS TREND WOULD CONTINUE SINCE NAM POSITIONS INFLUENCE THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY MEMBERS IN OTHER FORUMS. NON-NAM POSTS ARE INCLUDED AS ADDRESSEES IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY BE INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NAM AND OF POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE MOVEMENT ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US.

VANCE

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE142045
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/ML: MJACOBS: LW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
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Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USINT HAVANA 1430 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2176635
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: MAY 15-20 MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU (NACB) AT HAVANA
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, CU, NACB
To: ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS BANGUI VIA POUCH MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e52c4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014